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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1917

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Sorry—But All My Restoratives Are Needed in Europe

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

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Notes of the Week

"Soldiers of Freedom"

AS the final results of the Maine referendum on woman suffrage come in, thousands of women who had abandoned their own fight for democracy that the fight for world democracy might be carried on by our sailors and soldiers, have looked with some chagrin and doubt on the final Maine figures. Many of the men of Maine voted in the training camps where they are waiting transportation abroad. These soldiers voted against woman suffrage three to one. At Camp Bartlett, Westfield, the vote was 291 versus 610; the Milliken regiment stood 151 versus 340; the second Maine infantry, 140 versus 274; while at Commonwealth Pier, 21 marines voted 13 against and 8 in favor.

It was a quarter of a century ago that Susan B. Anthony, asking for a vote on federal suffrage before the congressional committee, said: "Liberty for one's self is a natural instinct possessed alike by all men,—but to be willing to accord liberty to another is the result of education, of self-discipline, of the practice of the Golden Rule."

Federal suffrage workers in Washington who have seen Government sailors and soldiers attack suffrage workers, have small hope of the education of these young men in such self-discipline.

A First Fruit of the British Suffrage Victory

ON the eve of the long-fought-for suffrage victory in Great Britain, which the women of labor are even now planning to make a complete instead of a partial victory, the Ministry of Munitions has announced advances in the wages of all women and girls in controlled and uncontrolled establishments. The increase also applies to the controlled Irish munition plants. Women have also won the right to have their wages reviewed for possible increase every four months by the Committee on Production, as has been the case with men.

Those who remember that it was the demand of the munition workers which is said to have precipitated the renewed agitation for suffrage in war-time, see a healthful change toward that democracy in shop and factory that women in all countries must still fight for after the vote is won.

The Enfranchisement and Disfranchisement of Canada

THE enfranchisement of the women of Canada which, it is reported, may take place within the month, adding at least 450,000 votes to the Canadian electorate, is a war measure, pure and simple. Canadian politicians declare that the measure has been pushed by Premier Robert Borden as the best means of neutralizing the "enemy alien" vote in the coming election, when conscription will be voted on.

The same measure which, if passed, will enfranchise thousands of women, will at the same time disfranchise thousands of men, since all citizens born in "enemy countries" and naturalized any time within the last fifteen years are disfranchised. In this bill, which is known as the War Time Elections Act, the provisions hold during the period of the war only. All women who have fathers, sons, brothers or husbands at the front, and all British-born women, under it become voters.

Liberals are planning to amend the act, giving all women the franchise under the general provisions of the Dominion's Franchise Act, and are protesting against the disfranchisement of any class. The Ottawa *Citizen* says: "Disfranchisement is not the way to fight autocracy. Democracy may seem troublesome at times, but the remedy for democracy is more democracy, and democracy is the best answer to autocracy and absolutism."

Another Mexican Step Forward

THE liklihood of both Canadian and Mexican women being enfranchised during the present war will leave the United States in the anomalous position of the only democracy on the North American continent lacking faith in democracy. The legislature of Guanajuato has granted woman suffrage with an educational and small property qualification. Self-supporting women who read and write in this province; women in Mexico City, and other parts of Mexico are already voting, it having been held that there is nothing in the constitution of Mexico to prevent self-supporting women from voting.

A Feminist War-time Conference

THIS week an international feminist conference marks the beginning of that war-weariness beginning to grip Europe, that looking ahead to the coming battle of both women and men for better economic conditions that must follow the war. This conference, led by Anna Lindhagen, hopes that most of the countries of Europe will be represented by women, and that American feminists of London and Paris engaged in war work, may be present. Peace will not be touched on at the conference, which has been called to consider the conditions of women's work and wages in all countries; their economic position after the war, and the factor woman suffrage is to play in the prevention of future wars. Miss Lindhagen says that the women of Finland are now leading the feminists of the world.

Preaching and Practicing!

IF the embarking United States "soldiers of freedom" do not learn the lesson of democracy that every daily paper, every known avenue, is now preaching, it will not be through lack of effort. General Pershing and President Wilson have both had imprinted in Bibles distributed to American soldiers exhortations to valor, with "democracy" as the main theme. The President bids our soldiers "give everything for what they think their duty;" and the American commander declares, "our people are fighting in the cause of liberty." Millions of Bibles bearing these messages will be distributed, it is said. Many American women who, in giving their sons, have given up "everything," are beginning to feel some bitterness concerning that "liberty" the President and his aides exhort over so glibly on every occasion, but deny to mothers and sisters left at home.

Presidential Suffrage Loss and Gain

THE Indiana presidential suffrage law was declared unconstitutional and void by the Marion County Superior Court this week, and will be immediately appealed to the Indiana Supreme Court. A final decision will probably be handed down before the November elections. The court refused to issue a restraining order to prevent women registering pending a decision of the higher court.

In every State in which presidential suffrage has been passed by the legislature—Illinois, North Dakota, Michigan, Indiana, Nebraska, and Rhode Island—with the exception of Rhode Island and Illinois, suits are either pending to invalidate the bill, or have already been passed. Suffragists have learned their lesson, spurred on by the suffrage gains of women in other countries at war. They are turning their eyes at last on the federal suffrage amendment which Susan B. Anthony recognized as the logical suffrage road half a century ago in the face of another disastrous war.

Women Railway Engineers

YOUNG women as civil engineers, given the same training and advantages as men, is the latest innovation of the Santa Fe Railroad. The experiment has been begun with a dozen college women who are now taking a six months' training.

"I am giving these young women exactly the same training the men receive," said E. S. Rice, of the engineering and construction department, "and they are working at the same problems. They are drawing plans for yards to scale, locating every switch, bridge, and signal, and learning every little detail of the laying out of the tracks. They are on actual jobs now. It has always been a hobby of mine to put women into this work; and now that so many young men are being drafted, I have my opportunity to prove I am right.

"As to their mechanical capacity, I would have no hesitation in putting a woman in a caboose. Women have as level heads and are as good mechanics as men, when they are trained."

The innovation of the Santa Fe marks the first example of trained women into railroading. Other roads have been employing women yard and track workers, switch-tenders and the like, for some time. The new independence of women in all lines will undoubtedly serve to make more insistent their demand for a political voice in government.

The Suffragist

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THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Present Status

In the Senate

On the calendar awaiting a vote.

In the House

Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Agitating—or Knitting for Suffrage?

IT is a demonstrated fact that any group in any country, fighting for a great principle, willing to eat the bitter bread of the agitator, on the firing line, in prison, in exile, sends his cause onward, over the protests of the quiescent mass.

In these war times the word "agitator" has been on every tongue. Even suffragists petitioning a President for liberty with banners, have been so called; have been denounced on the floor of Congress; have been misrepresented in the press, and have been unlawfully imprisoned through Administration connivance.

Yet what the agitation of the National Woman's Party has accomplished in war time has been the reverse of the result that might be deduced from careless newspaper comment.

When Congress convened, suffrage was declared not a war measure by Administration leaders, who refused to place it on the calendar this session. The President himself had advised suffragists to "concert public opinion."

The answer of suffragists was the picket. Petitioning the President day by day with banners in front of the White House at a time when the satisfied mass of women in this country were engaged in knitting and preserving, told people in every State, and in nations across the sea, of the demand of American women for liberty in war time.

"England and Russia are enfranchising women in war time."

"How long must American women be denied a voice in the government which is conscripting their sons?"

These and dozens of other slogans accusing the President of responsibility for the suffrage blockade went forth. Women were mobbed; women were imprisoned, and are still being imprisoned, for telling these truths.

An Administration servant last week resigned his office as a protest against the continued silence of the President, who is willing to advise the unheeding men of Maine on suffrage, but not the Congress he controls.

This week another Administration man, who has been accused of holding up the consideration of suffrage in the Senate through Administration orders, visited the imprisoned suffragists in Occoquan workhouse.

What impelled Senator Jones to this visit is unknown. Certainly it was not the description of those pale uniformed prisoners from many States, in prison for asking the President of the United States for liberty. Senator Jones is not so sensitive.

That demand dynamic enough to send women to prison; to bring protest from every State in the Union straight to Congress; to move even an Administration leader to indignant action, finally, after six months, moved Mr. Jones. The day after his visit to Occoquan the Susan B. Anthony amendment was placed on the calendar of the Senate.

Whether those who sit and knit would have moved Mr. Malone to his fine protest; whether they would have moved Mr. Jones to his short step ahead; whether they would even have moved the President to his useless message to Maine, is the question. Do the thinking women of the Nation believe it?

Senator Jones Files a Favorable Report on Suffrage

SENATOR JONES, of New Mexico, chairman of the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, this week filed a "favorable report" on the woman suffrage resolution, which has been reposing in his committee for the last six months, though every member of his committee was in favor of the measure, and he was instructed on May 15 to make the report, following the hearing before the Senate Committee accorded the Committee of the League of Liberals.

To suffragists at this time,—especially to those called "militant" because they are agitating for the necessity of the liberation of women as a war measure—this tiny step forward that has been taken by one branch of that ponderous body, the Congress of the United States, is significant of the change of mind that has been forced on the members of the majority party by the National Woman's Party.

At the Senate hearing of April 26, 1917, women of national reputation who had spent years in the study of war-time conditions abroad as they related to women were among the speakers, including Miss Madeline Doty and Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, both authors of war-time investigations; Mrs. Mary Beard, and Miss Jeannette Rankin. Senator Hiram Johnson stated at this hearing: "I am with you, and so is this committee," and it was the wish of women that the bill be immediately reported. In spite of protests from every part of the country, however, the suffrage resolution was still held in committee.

After more than three months the rebellious minority leaders of the committee, led by Senator Cummins, of Iowa, and backed by Senators Jones and Johnson, of Washington and California, attempted to force the suffrage bill on the Senate calendar by discharging the derelict Senate Suffrage Committee.

On the floor of the Senate Chairman Jones was accused of being influenced by Administration pressure from the outside to withhold the suffrage measure from a place on the Senate calendar because of the Administration sentiment against it as a war-time measure. In detence of his inaction Senator Jones pleaded lack of time and desire to make a report that would be a "contribution to the cause." His party associate, Senator Hollis, of New Hampshire, brought forward the suffrage picket as a reason for withholding the bill and expressed his fear that the "active group of suffragists" would, if it were released, focus public attention and "get credit."

These amazing reasons for withholding a bill from consideration in no way deterred the women from continuing to press for consideration for suffrage at this time. The suffrage picket, in the face of Administration abuse, arrests and imprisonments, continued to appeal for consideration for suffrage as a war measure, and, specifically, for immediate consideration.

Calendar No. 123.

65TH CONGRESS, *1st Session.* | SENATE. | REPORT No. 130.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1917.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico, from the Committee on Woman Suffrage, submitted the following

REPORT.

[To accompany S. J. Res. 2.]

The Committee on Woman Suffrage, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 2) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, conferring upon women the right of suffrage, having had same under consideration, beg leave to report it back to the Senate with the recommendation that the joint resolution do pass.

The Long-looked-for Report of Senator Jones, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, Who Promised to "Contribute Something to the Cause . . . in Such Form as Might Appeal to the Country at Large"

EVENTS following the action of Senator Cummins and the minority leaders came thick and fast:

Thirty-nine American women were sentenced to serve terms of from one to two months in a Government workhouse for petitioning the President for liberty.

Following protests from every part of the country, an important Administration figure, Dudley Field Malone, resigned his position and publicly registered his disapproval of the Administration's dishonesty in regard to its suffrage pledges.

Members of Congress journeyed to Occoquan workhouse to attempt to "reason" with suffragists demanding liberty for the women of this nation. Finally Chairman Jones himself was impelled to visit the suffrage prisoners. Even the President threw a sop to suffrage when he asked the men of Maine to vote for suffrage as a State measure. Although the men of Maine disregarded the advice of the Chief Executive, who could with so little exertion enfranchise the women of not only Maine, but the nation, women continued to picket, and continued to protest to the inactive Senate Suffrage Committee.

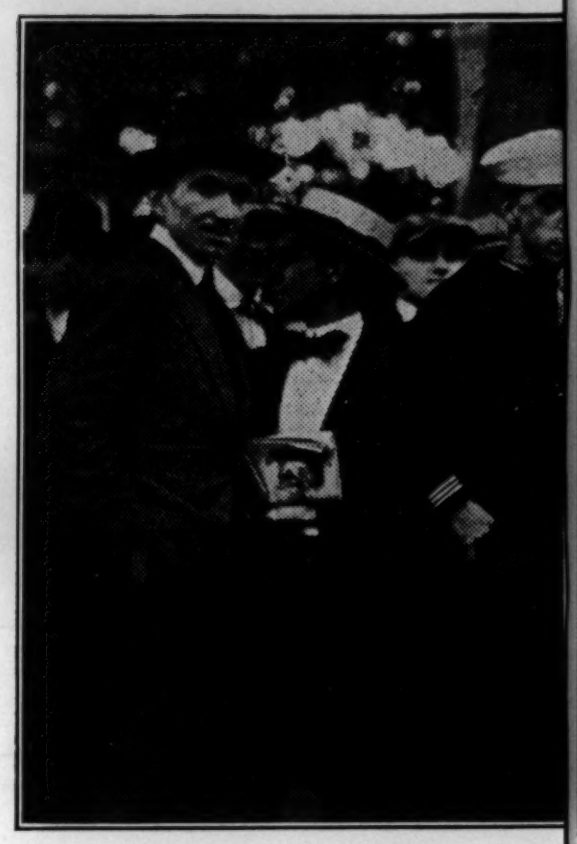
JUST before the release of the suffrage measure from committee this week, Senator Jones, defiant to the last, declared to Miss Anne Martin, of Nevada, chairman of the legislative committee of the Woman's Party, that suffrage was not a war measure, and, therefore, though it would be placed upon the Senate calendar, it would not be placed there for action. Miss Martin pointed out that on the very day this conversation took place patronage bills, such as those creating additional judgeships in the District, and, recently, the creation of judgeships in other States, had come up for consideration, as well as the consideration of such measures as the Rivers and Harbors Bill and the Migratory Birds Bill.

Senator Borah agreed with Miss Martin that the attitude of the Administration in insisting, in the face of the war demands on women, that suffrage was not a war measure was inconsistent.

The measure was reported to the Senate two days later, September 15. The report submitted by Senator Jones is reproduced on this page for the waiting women of the United States who have looked forward to his "contribution to the cause" for the past three months. It was on August 2 that the Senator said: "I have tried to handle this matter so as to perform a real service to the cause. . . . I am still in favor of woman suffrage. It was my purpose to devote some personal effort in the preparation of a report which might contribute something to the cause . . . to study the question and try to present the matter in such form as might appeal to the country at large."

The Dauntless

Sailor, Surrounded by Crowd, Tearing Down Banner which Miss Katherine Fisher is Holding. Miss Mabel Vernon, in the Foreground, is Trying to Save the Banner



The Two Sailors Who Tore Down Miss Fisher's B
Wait for Liberty?" and Who Posed for T
The Suffrage Banners A

THE battle of the women of this nation for liberty is still going on week after week in Washington, in spite of every attempt on the part of Administration newspapers the country over to keep the story of this dauntless struggle for liberty out of the papers, away from the men and women of the nation. The persecution of these women in Washington, small groups pitted against a victorious and powerful political party, would be a pitiful thing if it were not so valiant.

No one who has watched the arrests of these suffragists in Washington can have again the same respect for the institutions of this country. It is as strange, as un-American a spectacle as a persecution actually taking place in a foreign country—except that probably no other modern country would at the present time arrest women by subterfuge for petitioning for liberty.

This week six women were again "thrown to the populace." Their banner was torn down by United States sailors, who afterward volunteered to pose for their pictures, and the women, not the sailors or the crowd of Government clerks who jeered at them, were arrested and sentenced to a month in prison.

Among the group were mature American women who have been working for suffrage for years; young American women rebellious at the growing injustice, and even women from the newest overseas Republic, just emerging with the war into full democracy. Miss Katherine Fisher, of New York City; Mrs. Frederick Willard Kendall, of Hamburg, New York; Mrs. Mark Jackson, of Baltimore; and Miss Ruth Crocker, of Chicago, Illinois, represented the East, the South and the West. Representing the spirit of free Russia as well as the protest of workers in their adopted country were Miss Lena Samardin and Miss Eleanor Gvinter, born in Kiev, Russia, both members of the Woman's Trade Union League.

The six pickets left the suffrage headquarters on Lafayette Square at half past four in the afternoon. Already a crowd had collected in front of the lower gates of the White House, "waiting to see the fun," as one man expressed it. The two police officers present made no attempt to disperse this crowd. They stood on the edge of the sidewalk and gossiped with members of the crowd. There were also idle police officers across the street on Lafayette Square, where another crowd lined the edge of the sidewalk.

The little group of women marched straight to the lower gate. The purple, white and gold tricolored flags, held high, looked like the brilliant sails of galleons floating above the crowd. Written on the two yellow flags were the familiar question of Inez Milholland, *"How long must women wait for liberty?"* and on the veteran picket banner that has been at the White House gates for more than seven months, *"Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?"* These banners were carried by Miss Fisher and Mrs. Kendall.

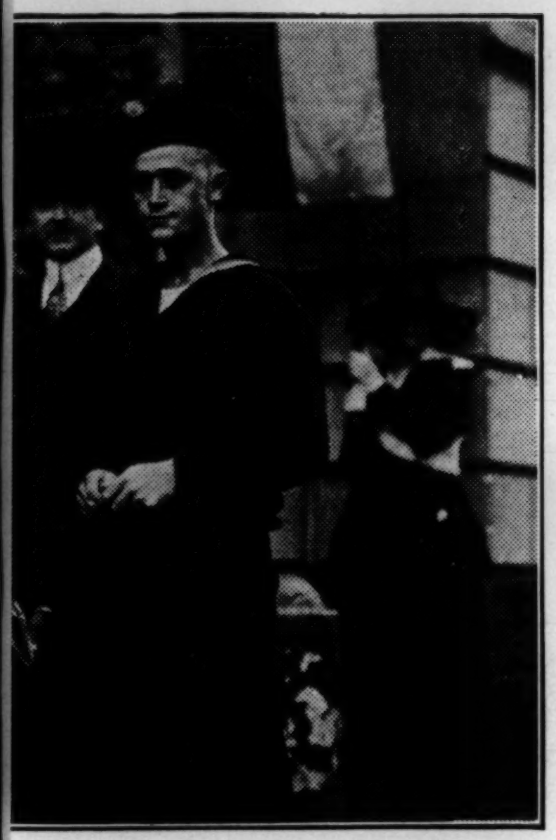
The crowd made way for the group and they took their accustomed places at the gate, with the police for a few minutes idly watching. Two officers then walked through the crowd, mechanically ordering them to "move along," but making no attempt actually to carry out their own orders. Miss Gladys Greiner, of Baltimore, with a small kodak was taking pictures of the crowds and the idle officers. Resenting this—for the police have of late grown touchy as to their own ridiculous position in the arrests of suffragists—Captain Flathers, a stout six-foot officer, as the young girl leveled her kodak at him, deliberately kicked her. She saved the kodak and was able to continue to take pictures.

A sailor and a marine, both in uniform, instead of moving, as the police had ordered, pressed closer to the little group of banner-bearers at the gate. Then the sailor made a dash for Miss Fisher's banner, tearing it from its pole. Neither police officer made the slightest attempt to arrest either of these men, as they tore the flag into strips and passed scraps of it to their friends. When a news photographer asked the sailors to pose for their pictures they complacently complied, and were "taken" in front of the suffrage flags, with the police officers watching the whole grotesque proceeding.

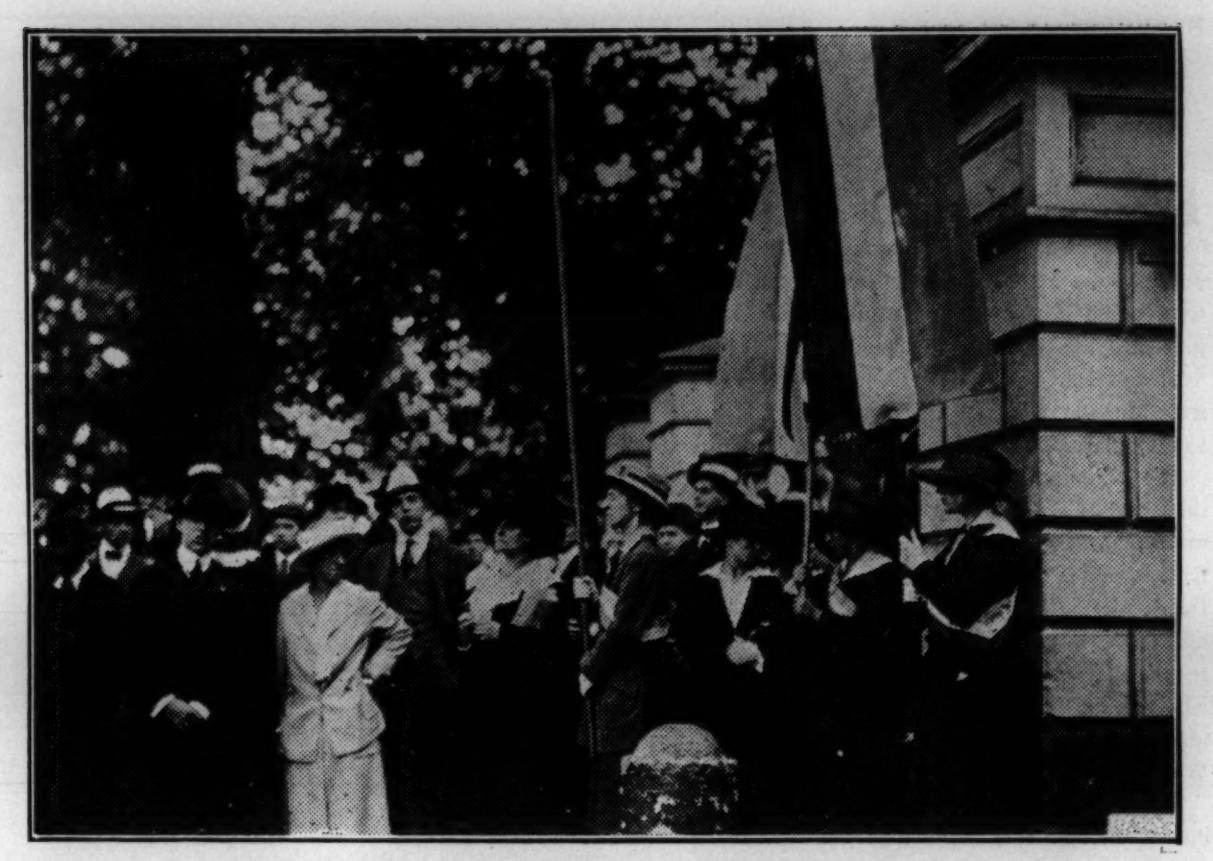
It was not until this moment that Police Captain Flathers (the Government scapegoat who for weeks has told the familiar and stereotyped tale which has convicted women in the police court) and his assisting officer placed the six suffragists under arrest, confiscating their remaining banners and taking them to the station in a police patrol, while the crowds of men, who had actually obstructed traffic quickly dispersed.

POLICE JUDGE A. R. MULLOWNY, who is destined to pass down in history as the first judge who, acting on orders, sentenced women to a Government workhouse for petitioning for suffrage, was again on the bench, after an absence of two months, when the six suffragists were brought to trial. Following Judge Mullowny's drastic sentence of more than two months ago, when the President, apparently failing to uphold the orders of his own Administration underling, pardoned the sixteen suffragists first sent to Occoquan, this judge has tried no suffrage cases. For a month suffragists again picketed, unmolested by police or rowdies. When the police again intervened arrested women were tried before Police Judge Pugh, who instituted the practice, not unknown in police courts, of paying no attention to any evidence but that of policemen, and of curbing all conversation or protests except his own, and of giving drastic sentences.

ss uffrage Picket



Bearing the Legend, "*How Long Must Women*
ictures before the Arrests of Suffragists.
en in the Background



Miss Katherine Fisher in the Center is Seen Carrying the Empty Pole Immediately after the Two Sailors Tore Down Her Flag. The Crowds which the Police Made No Attempt to Move are Shown in this Picture

On the technical charge of "obstructing traffic" nrst "offenders" were first sentenced to one and then to two months. In the history of the English militant movement three and four-time offenders who damaged property were sentenced to one month.

On his return to the adjudication of suffrage cases this week Judge Mullowny once more reversed himself. It had been his contention in previous cases that the banners suffragists carried had "nothing to do with the cases," since their offence was "obstructing traffic." Once before he set aside his own judgment when he indiscriminately characterized suffrage banners as "treasonable." In dealing with the latest suffrage trial he showed deep interest in what legends the banners carried. When told the torn banner carried the question, "How long must women wait for liberty?" he declared, after deliberation, setting a new precedent for himself, "Since this banner is unlikely to give offence, I will give you women a light sentence this time!" The group were thereupon sentenced to thirty days in the Government workhouse, on their refusal to pay their fine!

In a spirit of levity he asked, "Would you pay a fine instead of going to prison if I made the fine fifty cents?" "Not if you made it five cents," was the reply of Mrs. Kendall, who acted as spokesman for the six prisoners.

All evidence, save that of the two policemen who had been in charge of the arrests, was ruled out of court in this latest suffrage "trial." The evidence brought forward by the women themselves as to the dereliction of the police in failing to move the crowd either before or after the appearance of the suffragists; of making no attempt to arrest the two sailors who tore down the lettered banner and destroyed it under the eyes of the police, and who remained on the ground until the women were arrested and the crowd dispersed; of the illegal conduct of Captain Flathers in kicking Miss Greiner while she took kodak pictures, were held by the judge to have no relation to the cases. "I have nothing to do with these things; they have nothing to do with this case," was his bland expression, delivered with good-natured laughter.

AMONG the sentenced women, Miss Ruth Crocker, who is employed in the ordnance division of the War Department, was asked if she did not fear the loss of her position as the result of her appeal for suffrage.

"I don't in the least expect to lose my position," Miss Crocker said. "I have not done anything for which I could reasonably be discharged. Even if I should have to give it up, however, it would be a small thing to do for the enfranchisement of women."

IN the Government workhouse at Occoquan there are now fifteen women serving two-month and one-month sentences for petitioning President Wilson with suffrage banners. The question that is being asked in every corner of this country, "How are these women bearing this indignity?" is splendidly answered by Miss Lucy Branham, of Baltimore, a young college woman, a Carnegie hero medal winner, in a last letter to her brother, a volunteer "soldier of freedom" about to be sent abroad. Miss Branham, when she was arrested, was about to enter Columbia University for post-graduate work. She writes:

"Being in jail is a curious sensation. We wondered on the train coming out here whether we had the fibre to make it bearable. Being locked up is a suffocating process, and the taking of two months out of your life without your consent is a startling experience. You lie awake at night, and you think and think and think. You think of the women who spend the precious years of their lives begging and beating against a Government's refusal. Four generations of American women who might have done a thousand other things with their lives for themselves and other people have toiled and argued and waited. And we wonder what the people outside are doing while we are helpless. The Government asks us to bide our time, not to waste our energies trying to move it; please to be expedient. And yet the President himself knows that the Government may be expedient, but never the lovers of liberty. He has himself admitted that the history of all liberty is the history of resistence. Once, when he was out of office, he was not without admiration for those who refused to let another generation slip by still burdened with the yoke of injustice.

"But he was talking of men then. If I can concentrate my whole strength in saying that lives should not be wasted in an effort to get a freedom long due; if I can prove to people how sinful it is for the women of this country to spend unnecessary years in propaganda, I shall do it. Every hour that I spend in the workhouse, every stitch that I stitch on these ticking uniforms hardens me in my determination to do all I can to shorten rather than to drag on the struggle.

"Women of these abilities and temperaments should spend their souls in making America a more beautiful place in which to live, and not in a long and cruel struggle for their own enfranchisement. That enfranchisement is too inherent a platform of true democracy to be made a martyr's creed."

The National Woman's Party Goes Before the People

IN the midst of this war for democracy when congressmen, whose consciences are perhaps uneasy, when cabinet members, when even, possibly, the President himself, are about to interpret and justify the momentous events of the present dying session to the country, the National Woman's Party will also embark on a country-wide tour that is to take the speakers of the party to every large city in every State in the Union.

The National Woman's Party is undertaking this arduous and exhaustive task, which will cover more than two months and engage the most brilliant speakers and organizers of the Woman's Party, for the self-same reason that the members of Congress and the President are going out into the country—to inform the great rank and file, who, perhaps careless or cautious of newspaper information, will listen to emissaries direct from Washington.

The story that the National Woman's Party, during the next two months, will tell the country is without doubt the most unbelievable and the most dramatic that any body of suffrage speakers have ever taken to the men and women of this country. They will visualize, many in their own persons, the record of the present Democratic Administration in its repressive measures toward women asking for liberty, their unprotected struggle to still maintain the long battle for suffrage at this time, and the answer of the President: the imprisoning of dozens of women from many States and all classes—for petitioning for liberty.

MISS MAUDE YOUNGER, of California, an appealing speaker for labor, a member of the executive committee of the National Woman's Party, will travel through the Southern States, speaking in the home towns of Southern members still opposing suffrage as a war measure, and in every large city. Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Pennsylvania, and Miss Mabel Vernon, of Delaware, secretary of the Woman's Party, will tell the story of the picket and the President in the Northwest and the Middle West. Miss Anne Martin, of Nevada, vice-chairman of the National Woman's Party and one of the well-loved figures of the West, will speak through the Far West and on the Pacific coast. Miss Doris Stevens, of Nebraska, a member of the executive committee of the National Woman's Party, will speak in the Eastern and New England cities.

The organizers who have already started from national headquarters to arrange meetings in all sections of the country are Miss Iris Calderhead, of Kansas; Miss Margaret Whittemore, of Michigan; Miss Pauline Clarke, of New York; Mrs. St. Clair Thompson, of North Carolina; Miss Virginia Arnold, of North Carolina; Miss Margery Ross, of Wyoming; Miss Joy Young, of Washington, D. C.; Miss Berta Crone, of California; Miss Alice Henkle, of Illinois; Miss Sarah C. Grant, of Minnesota; Miss Helen Hunt, of Florida; Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, of New York; Miss Marion Tilden Burritt, of New York; Miss Rebecca Hourwich, of New York; Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, of Baltimore; and Miss Irene Story, of Connecticut.

Most of these young women have themselves lived through the last disgraceful chapter of the Administration's evasion of suffrage; most of them have themselves gone to prison for their belief in the liberty of the women of the nation. The itineraries of the suffrage speakers is as follows:

ITINERARY OF MISS ANNE MARTIN

Thursday, September 27, Chicago, Illinois.
Friday, September 28, Kansas City, Missouri.
Saturday, September 29, Topeka, Kansas.
Monday, October 1, Wichita, Kansas.
Tuesday, October 2, Hutchinson, Kansas.
Wednesday, October 3, Colorado Springs, Colorado.
Thursday, October 4, Pueblo, Colorado, and Colorado Springs.
Saturday, October 6, Glenwood Springs, Colorado.
Monday, October 8, Denver, Colorado.
Tuesday, October 9, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Wednesday, October 10, Laramie, Wyoming.
Thursday, October 11, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Friday, October 12, Casper, Wyoming.
Saturday, October 13, Billings, Montana.
Monday, October 15, Butte, Montana.
Tuesday, October 16, Helena, Montana.
Wednesday, October 17, Great Falls, Montana.
Friday, October 19, Spokane, Washington, and Cœur D'Alene, Idaho.
Saturday, October 20, Spokane, Washington, and Moscow, Idaho.
Sunday, October 21, Lewiston, Idaho.
Monday, October 22, Spokane, Washington.
Tuesday, October 23, 24, 25, Seattle, Washington.
Friday, October 26, Bellingham, Washington.
Saturday, October 27, Tacoma, Washington.
Sunday, October 28, 29, 30, Portland, Oregon.
Wednesday, October 31, November 1, Eugene, Oregon.
Friday, November 2, Pendleton, Oregon.
Saturday, November 3, 4, Boise, Idaho.
Monday, November 5, Pocatella, Idaho.
Tuesday, November 6, 7, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Thursday, November 8, Provo and Salt Lake City, Utah.
Friday, November 9, Garfield and Bingham, Utah.
Saturday, November 10, Ogden, Utah.
Monday, November 12, 13, Reno, Nevada.
Wednesday, November 14, Carson City, Nevada.
Thursday, November 15, 16, 17, San Francisco, California.
Sunday, November 18, 19, Los Angeles, California.
Tuesday, November 20, San Diego, California.
Thursday, November 22, Phoenix, Arizona.
Friday, November 23, 24, Tucson, Arizona.
Monday, November 26, Prescott, Arizona.
Wednesday, November 28, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
Thursday, November 29, 30, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
Tuesday, December 4, Washington, D. C.

ITINERARY OF MRS. LAWRENCE LEWIS AND MISS MABEL VERNON

Monday, October 1, 2, Detroit, Michigan.
Wednesday, October 3, Bay City and Saginaw, Michigan.
Thursday, October 4, Battle Creek, Michigan.
Friday, October 5, Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids, Michigan.
Saturday, October 6, 7, 8, Chicago, Illinois.
Tuesday, October 9, Bloomington, Illinois.
Wednesday, October 10, Springfield, Illinois.
Thursday, October 11, Peoria, Illinois.
Friday, October 12, Galesburg, Illinois, and Kenosha, Wisconsin.
Saturday, October 13, Racine, Wisconsin.
Sunday, October 14, 15, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Tuesday, October 16, Madison, Wisconsin.
Wednesday, October 17, Richland Center, Wisconsin.
Thursday, October 18, 19, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Saturday, October 20, 21, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Monday, October 22, 23, Duluth, Minnesota.
Wednesday, October 24, Fargo, North Dakota.
Thursday, October 25, Grand Forks, North Dakota.
Friday, October 26, 27, 28, Bismarck, North Dakota.
Monday, October 29, 30, 31, Sioux Falls, South Dakota.
Thursday, November 1, Lincoln, Nebraska.
Friday, November 2, Omaha, Nebraska.
Saturday, November 3, Council Bluffs, Iowa.
Sunday, November 4, 5, 6, 7, Des Moines, Iowa.
Thursday, November 8, 9, St. Louis, Missouri.
Saturday, November 10, 11, 12, Kansas City, Missouri.
Tuesday, November 13, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Wednesday, November 14, 15, 16, 17, Oklahoma City and Guthrie, Oklahoma.
Sunday, November 18, 19, Little Rock, Arkansas.
Tuesday, November 20, 21, Hot Springs, Arkansas.
Thursday, November 22, 23, 24, 25, Indianapolis, Noblesville, and Newcastle, Indiana.
Monday, November 26, 27, Terre Haute, and Indianapolis, Indiana.
Wednesday, November 28, Richmond, Indiana.
Thursday, November 29, 30, Dayton, Ohio.
Saturday, December 1, 2, Columbus, Ohio.
Tuesday, December 4, Washington, D. C.

ITINERARY OF MISS DORIS STEVENS

Monday, October 1, 2, 3, Wheeling, West Virginia.
Thursday, October 4, Cumberland, Maryland.
Friday, October 5, Hagerstown, Maryland.
Saturday, October 6, Baltimore, Maryland.
Sunday, October 7, Baltimore, Maryland.
Monday, October 8, Annapolis, Maryland.
Tuesday, October 9-14, Wilmington, Delaware, and other points in State.
Monday, October 15, 16, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Wednesday, October 17, 18, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Friday, October 19, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
Saturday, October 20, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.
Sunday, October 21, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Monday, October 22, Camden, New Jersey.
Tuesday, October 23, Atlantic City, New Jersey.
Wednesday, October 24, Trenton, N. J.
Thursday, October 25, Princeton, New Jersey.
Friday, October 26, Newark, New Jersey.
Saturday, October 27, 28, New York City.
Monday, October 29, Buffalo, New York.
Tuesday, October 30, Rochester, New York.
Wednesday, October 31, November 1, Syracuse, New York
Friday, November 2, Boston and Framingham, Massachusetts.
Saturday, November 3, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Sunday, November 4, 5, 6, Boston, Massachusetts.
Wednesday, November 7, 8, Burlington, Vermont.
Friday, November 9, 10, Montpelier, Vermont.
Sunday, November 11, 12, Concord, New Hampshire.
Tuesday, November 13, 14, Manchester, New Hampshire.
Thursday, November 15, 16, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.
Saturday, November 17, 18, Portland, Maine.
Monday, November 19, 20, Bangor, Maine.
Wednesday, November 21, Augusta, Maine.
Thursday, November 22, 23, 24, 25, Providence, Rhode Island.
Monday, November 26, Newport, Rhode Island.
Tuesday, November 27, 28, Hartford, Connecticut.
Thursday, November 29, 30, December 1, New Haven, Connecticut.
Sunday, December 2, Bridgeport, Connecticut.
Monday, December 3, New York City.
Tuesday, December 4, Washington, D. C.

ITINERARY OF MISS MAUD YOUNGER

Wednesday, October 3, Fredericksburg, Maryland.
Thursday, October 4, Richmond, Virginia.
Friday, October 5, Lynchburg, Virginia.
Saturday, October 6, Petersburg, Virginia.
Sunday, October 7, Weldon, North Carolina.
Monday, October 8, Scotland Neck, Weldon, and Rocky Mount, North Carolina.
Tuesday, October 9, Goldsboro and Wilmington, North Carolina.
Wednesday, October 10, Raleigh, North Carolina.
Thursday, October 11, Durham and Greensboro, North Carolina.
Friday, October 12, Salisbury and Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
Saturday, October 13, Concord and Charlotte, North Carolina.
Monday, October 15, Gaffney and Spartanburg, South Carolina.
Tuesday, October 16, Greenville, South Carolina.
Wednesday, October 17, Union, Newberry, and Columbia, South Carolina.
Thursday, October 18, Orangeburg, Branchville, and Charleston, South Carolina.
Friday, October 19, Savannah, Georgia.
Saturday, October 20, Brunswick, Georgia.
Sunday, October 21, 22, Jacksonville, Florida.
Tuesday, October 23, Valdosta and Waycross, Georgia.
Wednesday, October 24, Americus and Columbus, Georgia.
Thursday, October 25, Dublin and Macon, Georgia.
Friday, October 26, Milledgeville and Augusta, Georgia.
Saturday, October 27, Athens, Georgia.
Sunday, October 28, 29, 30, Atlanta, Georgia.
Wednesday, October 31, Gadsden and Birmingham, Alabama.
Thursday, November 1, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.
Friday, November 2, Montgomery, Alabama.
Saturday, November 3, Prattville, Wetumpka, and Selma, Alabama.
Sunday, November 4, 5, Pensacola, Florida.
Tuesday, November 6, Mobile, Alabama.
Wednesday, November 7, Biloxi and Gulfport, Mississippi.
Thursday, November 8, Meridian, Mississippi.
Friday, November 9, Jackson and Canton, Mississippi.
Saturday, November 10, Vicksburg, Mississippi.
Sunday, November 11, 12, Natchez, Mississippi.
Tuesday, November 13, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Wednesday, November 14, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
Thursday, November 15, Houston, Texas.
Friday, November 16, San Antonio, Texas.
Saturday, November 17, Austin, Texas.
Sunday, November 18, 19, Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas.
Tuesday, November 20, Jonesboro, Arkansas.
Wednesday, November 21, Memphis, Tennessee.
Thursday, November 22, Brownesville and Jackson, Tennessee.
Friday, November 23, Nashville, Tennessee.
Saturday, November 24, Lebanon and Gallatin, Tennessee.
Sunday, November 25, 26, Johnson City, Tennessee.
Tuesday, November 27, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Wednesday, November 28, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
Thursday, November 29, 30, December 1, 2, Elizabethtown, Bardstown, and Louisville, Kentucky.
Monday, December 3, Frankfort and Lexington, Kentucky.
Tuesday, December 4, Washington, D. C.

FOLLOWING the appeal to the country, on the 6th, 7th and 8th of December, dates that will probably see every woman now imprisoned for her belief in suffrage released, the National Woman's Party will hold an officers' conference in Washington, at which members of the National Advisory Council from all States, and State and District Chairmen will confer on the policies of the National organization during the next session of Congress. These conferences will be open to members as visitors.

Comments of the Press

Universal Suffrage is Vital in a Democracy

A SUCCESSFUL politician snugly nested in a soft job is seldom haunted by the ghosts of his old promises. He dreams new dreams and forgets the old.

Not so Dudley Field Malone, original Wilson man, sturdy campaigner, who now resigns the collectorship of the Port of New York because he feels that President Wilson has not dealt justly with the woman suffrage issue.

Dudley Field Malone has been a pretty big Democrat. And now he proves that he's a pretty big man.

For it was Malone who went a-campaigning through the West, and faithfully promised the women voters of the Western States that the Wilson administration would enfranchise American women. He would work to that end at any sacrifice to himself, he said. The Administration's failure is Malone's failure—or so he feels. So he makes the sacrifice.

But Mr. Malone's decision is not built entirely upon his own promises and hopes. Through months of anxious waiting for the Wilson administration to make good on suffrage he has seen women assaulted and persecuted in Washington; he has seen women dragged away to jail for no other offense than quoting the President's speeches in support of their campaign.

Women have been denied the right of petition, says Malone. He is right. While the President delivered addresses which were the very essence of democracy, women who had gone to Washington to ask for the ballot were being made the victims of a plot to silence their pleas. They were regularly arrested for "obstructing the traffic," sometimes after they had been assailed by bands of soldiers and sailors and Government clerks. Influential supporters of the suffrage cause were approached with requests to cease contributing money; the very headquarters of the suffragists was raided by a mob. Could the police of the United States Capital have prevented these outrages? They could have if their orders had read that way.

The most recent attack upon the women comes in the form of sixty-day sentences for twelve women for their "first offense" in carrying banners. In old England, where windows and heads were smashed in desperate suffrage demonstrations, only thirty days were given at the fourth offense.

Remember—nothing has been attempted by the women at Washington except the carrying of banners with inscriptions begging legislative attention to their cause.

If Mr. Malone's political affiliation with President Wilson depended upon a fair deal for suffrage, the Malone resignation is justified indeed.

As for the women now in Occoquan prison—they may take heart from the action of Mr. Malone. There are other real men who know the extent of the political juggling with suffrage, and who are ready, like Malone, to say a word in behalf of the women who "give up by conscription their men and happiness to war for democracy in Europe."

We may, like Malone, register our disapproval of the suffrage tactics at Washington. But when all's said and done, what other method was there for women to gain the attention of the Administration—mere women fighting against a victorious political party which had won its national fight and was now absorbed in plucking the fruits of victory?

The suffrage history of our war for democracy is deplorable, thus far.

The responsibility is President Wilson's, as Mr. Malone so delicately reminds him: "For the whole country gladly acknowledges, Mr. President, that no vital piece of legislation has come through Congress these five years except by your extraordinary and brilliant leadership."

The national suffrage amendment resolution could be passed in half a day on the President's say-so. Russia today is the world's leader in democracy; shall we let England rank second? —*Boston Journal, September 8, 1917.*

Administration Pledges Repudiated

THE Administration has repudiated its pledges. This action of Collector Malone, we may be sure, would never have been taken without an effort to bring the Administration to a favorable decision on the suffrage amendment, and is taken because of Mr. Malone's conviction that the Administration is not friendly. If it is said that the suffrage amendment cannot be helped by his resignation, the answer is that in no other way could this friend of woman's enfranchisement have put that object forward and brought the Administration and the issue face to face. President Wilson has sidestepped. He declares for the principle, but does not help the method of getting it into operation. A word from the President would put the amendment through Congress, but it promises to go through without his help.—*Topeka (Kansas) Daily Capital, September 9, 1917.*

An Honorable Politician

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE'S resignation . . . does credit to his heart, his chivalry, and his loyalty to the suffragists. . . . One need not sympathize with the actions of the Woman's Party pickets in Washington in order to recognize their loyalty and devotion to their cause, however mistaken their advertising methods, and to feel that they are not getting a square deal when they are arrested, not for carrying banners with Woodrow Wilson's words or anybody's else, but on the technical charge of disturbing traffic. Under the circumstances, Mr. Malone's resignation is very much to his honor.—*New York Post, September 10, 1917.*

Mrs. Belmont's Tribute

"SUFFRAGE has always had men friends willing to speak at banquets, eager to give out statements, write letters wishing the women well; men who are content to say, 'Oh, yes, suffrage is coming;' politicians evading the issue in Washington and trying feebly to help in a State fight. But Mr. Malone is the first distinguished man in public life in America to resign his post to fight for women. He is making a genuine sacrifice.

"His act is noble and beautiful. He has earned the ardent gratitude of the women of the world. And in this country women, almost to the breaking point of suffering for their ideals, will take new hope today, believing that the Administration at Washington must soon give justice to women."—*Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont in the New York World, September 8, 1917.*

President's "Police Court Methods" Deplored

MR. MALONE'S presentation of the case will appeal powerfully to the manhood of America. It will appeal not only to the chivalry, but also to the common sense of the majority of American men.

Woman suffrage is too big an issue to be dealt with by police court methods. It is too big an issue to be postponed pending the war. It is too big an issue to be considered in any other light except as a measure to strengthen the hearts and hands of the nation in the gravest crisis in its history.

In a war which we have undertaken to insure the survival and triumph of democracy and justice in the world, we should not suffer the perpetuation of injustice and a glaringly undemocratic electoral system at home.

A democracy which disfranchises one-half of its population is not a democracy.—*New York Mail, September 10, 1917.*

Mr. Wilson's Amiable Neutrality

THE course of Mr. Malone may be considered either Quixotic or chivalrous, according to the point of view, but the fact remains that he is making good on his avowed opinions, frequently expressed.

On the stump in the last campaign he was authorized by his party platform and encouraged by campaign managers to pledge Democratic support to suffrage. As a result, a large vote was obtained for the head of the ticket, particularly in California, the pivotal State.

The chief beneficiary of that support is so engrossed in the prosecution of the war that his concern for the cause of equal franchise now amounts to little more than an attitude of amiable neutrality, while Mr. Malone's concern for it is that of an enthusiastic advocate. There is little wonder, therefore, that he thought best to detach himself from the Administration.—*New York Morning Telegraph, September 8, 1917.*

Comments of the Press

A Premature Obituary

THE White House picketing is ended. The authorities of the District of Columbia have put their feet down hard and have announced that henceforth this picturesque attempt to impress the President with the merits of equal rights is to be simply an invitation to workhouse sentences.

The impression has gone forth that these pickets were a brazen lot, something of a cross between lunatics and women who were not what they should be. As a matter of fact, the picketers were a clean-skinned, modestly-dressed group, of a type which Americans would speak of as having "breeding." For some time it was the practice in Washington for the crowds to gather at the White House gates and for two hours in every afternoon to bait these women. The crowd consisted of department clerks, soldiers, street boys and barroom bums. If you nourished any idea that respect for women was innate in Americans you would have lost it if you had heard what this mob called the picketers, had heard its gross challenges and filthy tenders.

The District has maintained policemen at the gates. There is in addition a special staff of White House guards or watchmen. Every day twenty infantrymen are assigned to guard gates, sidewalks and grounds. To say that the mobbing could not be broken up without sending the picketers to jail is to say, of course, what is not so. That mobbing was permitted to go to an intolerable and threatening length either because of some man's grim humor or because it served conveniently to discredit the militant section of the woman suffrage movement.

Our own opinion is that the picketers were wrong. But anyone who has been permitted to glimpse the black and sinister scenes in the background of Washington knows that, by comparison, what the suffragists did was as mild and inoffensive as a child's clamor. The Capital buzzes with scandal. It whispers of treason. For the District to make out so awful a case against women who looked as if what they wanted most of all was a good cry strikes us as being the same as gunning for mosquitos when hyenas howled at the walls.—*Newark Star-Eagle, August 23, 1917.*

Small Business for Pullman

GILSON GARDNER asks Ray Pullman, chief of police in Washington, to resign and save his reputation. Does look like this arresting of suffrage pickets was pretty small business for a full-grown man, doesn't it?—*Miami (Fla.) Metropolis, August 29, 1917.*

Wilson, the Despot

IN Russia of the Romanoffs women were sent to Siberia for plotting to overthrow the government. In England suffragists were jailed for assaulting government officials and damaging property. In Germany women were imprisoned because they opposed militarism and preached peace while their government was at war, but only in these "free" United States, and only under the present administration, are women arrested, convicted and sent to jail for peacefully asking that which the chief executive of their government is continually teaching and preaching—democracy.

It is not surprising that Woodrow Wilson, the war President, endowed with greater power than any president possessed before him, should resort to the methods of a despot. But that Woodrow Wilson, the scholar, the historian, should be willing to make martyrs of any group of people seeking justice for themselves, that is surprising, indeed. Did Mr. Wilson not learn, during the many years he spent in studying and teaching history, that every just cause has been carried to victory on the shoulders of its martyrs? Did he not learn that repression never represses, but only stimulates? The number of friends and sympathizers gained by the Washington suffrage pickets will increase at exactly the same rate at which they are subjected to martyrdom, and if every suffragist in the country were placed behind iron bars the cry for woman's freedom, which is but one phase of human freedom, would only ring out the louder.

The women who are confined in Occoquan workhouse today, those who were there a little while ago, and those who expect to be there in the near future, may well have a smile on their lips and a song in their hearts, for they know, as the pioneers and martyrs of all ages have known, that their cause is marching on.—*Meta Lilienthal, New York Call, September 3, 1917.*

Blocking the Suffrage Amendment

MUCH indigination has been aroused among friends of the movement for national woman suffrage by the refusal of Senator Jones, of New Mexico, chairman of the suffrage committee, to report back the Susan B. Anthony amendment, which he was authorized to do by the committee several weeks ago.

Senator Jones seems to have been selected to hold the bridge against the overwhelming forces of progress, and is quite indifferent both to reason and public sentiment. The friends of the Anthony amendment are now bombarding the Senate with telegrams urging action, which may help to force a vote on the amendment, but it is safe to say that Senator Jones and his associates will fight to the last possible moment.

It is worth noting in this connection that every opponent of national prohibition is also an opponent of national woman suffrage, and with the prohibtion amendment in a fair way of passage by Congress, the supporters of booze are not taking any chances of increasing the woman vote.—*Pueblo (Col.) Chieftain, August 5, 1917.*

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List of Contributions from September 6 Through September 14, 1917

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Miss Laura B. Garrett	$ 9.75
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Mr. Allen Eaton	5.00
Membership Fees	3.75
Total collected by National Headquarters	$ 674.65
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	260,756.68
Total collected by National Headquarters through September 14, 1917	$261,431.33

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